





☞ A careful perusal of the following is commended to all who feel an interest in the elevation of the white as well as the colored race. It is a very clear exhibition of the condition of the mass of the white population in the slave States.

# THE POOR WHITES OF THE SOUTH.

BY GEORGE M. WESTON.

“Be the sin, the dangers, and evils of Slavery all our own. We compel, we ask, none to share them with us.”—*Letter of Governor Hammond of South Carolina to Thomas Clarkson.*

The number of slaveholders in the slave States of this Union, as ascertained by the census returns of 1850, was three hundred and forty-seven thousand five hundred and twenty-five. An average of five persons and seven-tenths to a family, as assumed by the Superintendent of the Census, would give 1,980,894 as the number of persons interested as slaveholders in their own right, or by family relation. The whole number of whites in the slaveholding States being 6,222,418, the slaveholding proportion is a fraction short of 32 per cent.

The Superintendent of the Census, Professor De Bow, says of the number, 347,525, returned as slaveholders:

“The number includes slave-hirers, but is exclusive of those who are interested conjointly with others in slave property. The two will about balance each other, for the whole South, and leave the slave-owners as stated.

“Where the party owns slaves in different counties, or in different States, he will be entered more than once. This will disturb the calculation very little, being only the case among the larger properties.”

The addition of those who are “slave-hirers” merely, to the category of slave-owners, must, I think, swell their number much more than it is diminished by the exclusion of “those who are interested conjointly with others in slave property.” Such instances of conjoint interest will occur most frequently in the family relations, already taken into the account, when we multiplied the number of slaveholders returned by five and seven-tenths. A comparison of the returns from Maryland, the District of Columbia, and Virginia, where slave-hiring is much practiced, with Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, where it is less practiced, shows the following results:

Maryland, Virginia, and the District of Columbia, with 566,583 slaves, return 72,584

slave-owners. Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, with 897,531 slaves, return 73,081 slave-owners. The relative excess of slave-owners returned in Virginia, Maryland, and the District of Columbia, must be attributed, in part, to the inclusion of a relatively larger number of “slave-hirers.” Upon the whole, it may safely be concluded that at least seven-tenths of the whites in the slave States are not slave-owners, either in their own right or by family relation. The number of white males in the slave States, aged twenty-one years and upward, in 1850, was 1,490,892.

Considering that the number of 347,525, returned as slave-owners, is subject to some deductions, and considering that of the slave-owners many are females and minors, it is probable that not exceeding one-fifth of the white male adults of the slave States own slaves.

The non-slaveholding whites of the South, being not less than seven-tenths of the whole number of whites, would seem to be entitled to some inquiry into their actual condition; and especially, as they have no real political weight or consideration in the country, and little opportunity to speak for themselves. I have been for twenty years a reader of Southern newspapers, and a reader and hearer of Congressional debates; but, in all that time, I do not recollect ever to have seen or heard these non-slaveholding whites referred to by Southern gentlemen, as constituting any part of what they call “the South.” When the rights of the South, or its wrongs, or its policy, or its interests, or its institutions, are spoken of, reference is always intended to the rights, wrongs, policy, interests, and institutions, of the three hundred

and forty-seven thousand slaveholders. Nobody gets into Congress from the South but by their direction; nobody speaks at Washington for any Southern interest except theirs. Yet there is, at the South, quite another interest than theirs; embracing from two to three times as many white people; and, as we shall presently see, entitled to the deepest sympathy and commiseration, in view of the material, intellectual, and moral privations to which it has been subjected, the degradation to which it has already been reduced, and the still more fearful degradation with which it is threatened by the inevitable operation of existing causes and influences.

From a paper on "Domestic Manufactures in the South and West," published by M. Tarver, of Missouri, in 1847, I make the following extracts:

"The free population of the South may be divided into two classes—the slaveholder and the non-slaveholder. I am not aware that the relative numbers of these two classes have ever been ascertained in any of the States, but I am satisfied that the non-slaveholders far outnumber the slaveholders—perhaps by three to one. In the more southern portion of this region, the non-slaveholders possess, generally, but very small means, and the land which they possess is almost universally poor, and so sterile that a scanty subsistence is all that can be derived from its cultivation; and the more fertile soil, being in the possession of the slaveholder, must ever remain out of the power of those who have none.

"This state of things is a great drawback, and bears heavily upon and depresses the moral energies of the poorer classes. \* \* \* The acquisition of a respectable position in the scale of wealth appears so difficult, that they decline the hopeless pursuit, and many of them settle down into habits of idleness, and become the almost passive subjects of all its consequences. And I lament to say that I have observed of late years that an evident deterioration is taking place in this part of the population, the younger portion of it being less educated, less industrious, and in every point of view less respectable, than their ancestors. \* \* \* It is in an eminent degree the interest of the slaveholder that a way to wealth and respectability should be opened to this part of the population, and that encouragement should be given to enterprise and industry; and what would be more likely to afford this encouragement than the introduction of manufactures? \* \* \* To the slaveholding class of the population of the Southwest, the introduction of manufactures is not less interesting than to the non-slaveholding class. The former possess almost all the wealth of the country. The preservation of this wealth is a subject of the highest consideration to those who possess it."

This picture is distressing and discouraging; distressing, in that it exhibits three-fourths of the whites of the South substantially destitute of property, driven upon soils so sterile that only a scanty subsistence is obtainable from them, depressed in moral energies, finding the pathway to respectability so difficult that they decline the hopeless pursuit, ceasing to struggle, and becoming the almost passive subjects of the consequences of idleness; discouraging, in that it exhibits this great bulk of the white population growing worse instead of better, evidently deteriorating, and its younger portion less educated, less industrious, and in every point of view less respectable, than their ancestors.

In the January number, of 1850, of *De Bow's Review*, is an article on "Manufactures in South Carolina," by J. H. Taylor, of Charles-

ton, (S. C.), from which I make the following extracts:

"There is, in some quarters, a natural jealousy of the slightest innovation upon established habits; and because an effort has been made to collect the poor and un-employed white population into our new factories, fears have arisen that some evil would grow out of the introduction of such establishments among us.

"Let us, however, look at this matter with candor and calmness, and examine all its bearings, before we determine that the introduction of a profitable industry will endanger our institutions. \* \* \* The poor man has a vote as well as the rich man, and in our State the number of the former will largely overbalance the latter. So long as these poor but industrious people could see no mode of living except by a degrading operation of work with the negro upon the plantation, they were content to endure life in its most discouraging forms, satisfied they were *above* the slave, though faring often worse than he. But the progress of the world is 'onward,' and though in some sections it is slow, still it is 'onward'; and the great mass of our poor white population begin to understand that they have rights, and that they, too, are entitled to some of the sympathy which falls upon the suffering. They are fast learning that there is an almost infinite world of industry opening before them, by which they can elevate themselves and their families from wretchedness and ignorance, to competence and intelligence. It is this great upheaving of our masses that we have to fear, so far as our institutions are concerned.

The employment of the white labor which is now to a great extent contending with absolute want, will enable this part of our population to surround themselves with comforts which poverty now places beyond their reach. The active industry of a father, the careful housewifery of the mother, and the daily cash earnings of four or five children, will very soon enable each family to own a servant; thus increasing the demand for this species of property to an immense extent. \* \* \*

"The question has often been asked, 'Will Southern operatives equal Northern in their ability to accomplish factory work?' As a general answer, I should reply in the affirmative, but at the same time it may with justice be said they cannot at present, even in our best factories, accomplish as much as is usual in Northern mills. The habitude of our people has been to anything but close application to manual labor, and it requires *time* to bring the whole habits of a person into a new train."

The italicising in these extracts is Mr. Taylor's, and not mine.

Mr. Taylor expresses himself in a very confused and artificial way, but it is not difficult to understand what he means. He is addressing himself to the slaveholding aristocracy, and he describes these poor whites very much as a French philosopher would describe the *blouses* of the Faubourg St. Antoine to polite ears in the Faubourg St. Germain. The collection into towns of the poor and unemployed white population of South Carolina had evidently given rise to some visions of social outbreak and anarchy, which Mr. Taylor feels called upon to dispel. These poor people, who were willing to be industrious if they had the opportunity to be so, but to whom no labor was offered except in degrading connection with plantation negroes, had been content to struggle on, enduring life in its most discouraging forms, contending with absolute want, and often faring worse than the negro, but yet solaced by the satisfaction that they were above the negro in some respects. But at length light was beginning to penetrate even into South Carolina, and these unhappy beings were catching a glimpse of the truth, that even they, in their depths of poverty and humiliation, had some rights, and were entitled to some of the sympathy which falls upon the suffering. They were

fast learning that there existed, in happier communities, modes of industry, which, if opened to them, would elevate them and their families from wretchedness and ignorance to competence and intelligence. This knowledge might occasion an upheaving of the masses, seriously threatening the social and domestic institutions of South Carolina, unless properly directed. If, on the contrary, these poor whites could be furnished with remunerating labor, they would place themselves in a position of comfort, and even become slaveholders themselves; thus increasing the demand for that sort of property, and enhancing its security.

From an address upon the subject of manufactures in South Carolina, delivered in 1851, before the South Carolina Institute, by William Gregg, Esq., I make the following extracts:

"In all other countries, and particularly manufacturing States, labor and capital are assuming an antagonistical position. Here it cannot be the case; capital will be able to control labor, even in manufactures with whites, for blacks can always be resorted to in case of need. \* \* \* From the best estimates that I have been able to make, I put down the white people who ought to work, and who do not, or who are so employed as to be wholly unproductive to the State, at one hundred and twenty-five thousand. \* \* \* By this it appears that but one-fifth of the present poor whites of our State would be necessary to operate 1,000,000 spindles. \* \* \* The appropriation annually made by our Legislature for our School Fund, every one must be aware, so far as the country is concerned, has been little better than a waste of money. \* \* \* While we are aware that the Northern and Eastern States find no difficulty in educating their poor, we are ready to despair of success in the matter, for even penal laws against the neglect of education would fail to bring many of our country people to send their children to school. \* \* \* I have long been under the impression, and every day's experience has strengthened my convictions, that the evils exist in the wholly neglected condition of this class of persons. Any man who is an observer of things could hardly pass through our country without being struck with the fact that all the capital, enterprise, and intelligence, is employed in directing slave labor; and the consequence is, that a large portion of our poor white people are wholly neglected, and are suffered to wither away an existence in a state but one step in advance of the Indian of the forest. It is an evil of vast magnitude, and nothing but a change in public sentiment will effect its cure. These people must be brought into daily contact with the rich and intelligent—they must be stimulated to mental action, and taught to appreciate education and the comforts of civilized life; and this, we believe, may be effected only by the introduction of manufactures. \* \* \* My experience at Graniteville has satisfied me, that unless our poor people can be brought together in villages, and some means of employment afforded them, it will be an utterly hopeless effort to undertake to educate them. \* \* \* We have collected at that place about eight hundred people, and as likely looking a set of country girls as may be found—industrious and orderly people, but deplorably ignorant, three-fourths of the adults not being able to read, or to write their names. \* \* \* With the aid of ministers of the Gospel on the spot, to preach to them and lecture them on the subject, we have obtained but about sixty children for our school, of about a hundred which are in the place. We are satisfied that nothing but time and patience will enable us to bring them all out. \* \* \* It is very clear to me, that the only means of educating and Christianizing our poor whites, will be to bring them into such villages, where they will not only become intelligent, but a thrifty and useful class in our community. \* \* \* Notwithstanding our rule, that no one can be permitted to occupy our houses who does not send all his children to school that are between the ages of six and twelve, it was with some difficulty, at first, that we could make up even a small school."

It is noticeable that Mr. Gregg, like Mr. Taylor, begins by an attempt to allay patrician jealousies, excited by the idea of collecting the poor whites into masses. Mr. Gregg points out

that the existence of slavery enables capital to control white labor as well as black, by the power which it retains to substitute the latter, when the former becomes unruled.

The whole white population of South Carolina, by the census of 1850, being only 274,563, nearly one-half, according to Mr. Gregg's estimate, are substantially idle and unproductive, and would seem to have sunk into a condition but little removed from barbarism. All the capital, enterprise, and intelligence, of the State, being employed in directing slave labor, these poor whites, wholly neglected, whiling away an existence but one step in advance of the Indian of the forest, never taught to appreciate education and the comforts of civilized life, deplorably ignorant, and induced with great difficulty, and only by slow degrees, to send their children to schools, do truly constitute "*an evil of vast magnitude,*" and call loudly for some means of "*educating and Christianizing*" them.

Gov. Hammond, in an address before the South Carolina Institute, in 1850, describes these poor whites as follows:

"They obtain a precarious subsistence by occasional job, by hunting, by fishing, by plundering fields or toads, and too often by what is in its effects far worse—trading with slaves, and seducing them to plunder for their benefit."

Elsewhere Mr. Gregg speaks as follows:

"It is only necessary to build a manufacturing village of shanties, in a healthy location, in any part of the State, to have crowds of these people around you, seeking employment at half the compensation given to operatives at the North. It is in fact painful to be brought in contact with such ignorance and degradation."

Is it really true that South Carolina means to dissolve this Union, if she cannot be permitted to extend further, institutions under which one-fifth of her people are savages, while another three-fifths are slaves?

In a paper published in 1852, upon the "*Industrial Regeneration of the South,*" advocating manufactures, the Hon. J. H. Lumpkin, of Georgia, says:

"It is objected that these manufacturing establishments will become the hot-beds of crime. \* \* \* But I am by no means ready to concede that our poor, degraded, half-fed, half-clothed, and ignorant population—without Sabbath schools, or any other kind of instruction, mental or moral, or without any just appreciation of character—will be injured by giving them employment, which will bring them under the oversight of employers, who will inspire them with self-respect by taking an interest in their welfare."

Georgia, it seems, like South Carolina, and under the influence of the same great cause, has her poor whites, degraded, half-fed, half-clothed, without mental or moral instruction, and destitute of self-respect and of any just appreciation of character. Is it really true that Georgia means to dissolve this Union if she cannot be permitted to blast this fair continent with such a population as this?

A paper upon *Cotton and Cotton Manufactures at the South*, by Mr. Charles T. James, (United States Senator,) of Rhode Island, which I find in *De Bow's Industrial Resources of the South and West*, contains statements similar, in substance, to those of Messrs. Taylor, Gregg,

and Lumpkin. Mr. James's pursuits have made him acquainted with the condition of manufactures in all sections of the country, and his essays are written in a spirit of candor, and even kindness to the South, as their publication by De Bow sufficiently proves. Mr. James says:

"This is a subject on which, though it demands attention, we should speak with delicacy. It is not to be disguised, nor can it be successfully controverted, that a degree and extent of poverty and destitution exist in the Southern States, among a certain class of people, almost unknown in the manufacturing districts of the North. The poor white man will endure the evils of pinching poverty, rather than engage in servile labor under the existing state of things, even were employment offered him, which is not general. The white female is not wanted at service, and if she were, she would, however humble in the scale of society, consider such service a degree of degradation to which she could not consent; and she has, therefore, no resource but to suffer the pangs of want and wretchedness. Boys and girls, by thousands, destitute both of employment and the means of education, grow up to ignorance and poverty, and, too many of them, to vice and crime. \* \* \* The writer knows, from personal acquaintance and observation, that poor Southern persons, male and female, are glad to avail themselves of individual efforts to procure a comfortable livelihood in any employment deemed respectable for white persons. They make applications to cotton mills, where such persons are wanted, in numbers much beyond the demand for labor; and, when admitted there, they soon assume the industrious habits, and decency in dress and manners, of the operatives in Northern factories. A demand for labor in such establishments is all that is necessary to raise this class from want and beggary, and (too frequently) moral degradation, to a state of comfort, comparative independence, and moral and social respectability. Besides this, thousands of such would naturally come together as residents in manufacturing villages, where, with very little trouble and expense, they might receive a common-school education, instead of growing up in profound ignorance."

These remarks of Mr. James are quoted and endorsed in an article upon the *Establishment of Manufactures in New Orleans*, which I find in *De Bow's Review* for January, 1850. The writer, whose name is not given, but who appears to be a citizen of New Orleans, says:

"At present, the sources of employment open to females (save in menial offices) are very limited; and an inability to procure suitable occupation is an evil much to be deplored, as tending in its consequences to produce demoralization."

"The superior grades of female labor may be considered such as imply a necessity for education on the part of the employes, while the menial class is generally regarded as of the lowest; and in a slave State, this standard is in the lowest depths, a lower deep; from the fact, that, by association, it is a reduction of the white servant to the level of their colored fellow-servants."

The complaint of low wages and want of employment comes from every part of the South.

Mr. Steadman, of Tennessee, in a paper upon the *Extension of Cotton and Wool Factories at the South*, says:

"In Lowell, labor is paid the fair compensation of 80 cents a day for men, and \$2 a week for women, beside board, while in Tennessee the average compensation for labor does not exceed 50 cents per day for men, and \$1.25 per week for women. Such is the wisdom of a wise division of labor."

In a speech made in Congress five or six years since, Mr. T. L. Clingman, of North Carolina, said:

"Our manufacturing establishments can obtain the raw material (cotton) at nearly two cents on the pound cheaper than the New England establishments. Labor is likewise one hundred per cent. cheaper. In the upper parts of the State, the labor of either a free man or a slave, including board, clothing, &c., can be obtained for from \$110 to \$120

per annum. It will cost at least twice that sum in New England. The difference in the cost of female labor, whether free or slave, is even greater. As we have now a population of nearly one million, we might advance to a great extent in manufacturing, before we materially increased the wages of labor."

A Richmond (Va.) newspaper, the *Dispatch*, says:

"We will only suppose that the ready-made shoes imported into this city from the North, and sold here, were manufactured in Richmond. What a great addition it would be to the means of employment! How many boys and females would find the means of earning their bread, who are now suffering for a regular supply of 'the necessaries of life!'"

The following statistics from the Census of 1850 show the number of whites (excluding foreign-born) in certain States, and the number of white persons, excluding foreign-born, in such States, over twenty years of age, unable to read and write:

States.	Whites.	Unable to read and write.
New England States - - -	2,399,651	6,209
New York - - - - -	2,393,101	23,240
Alabama - - - - -	419,016	33,618
Arkansas - - - - -	160,721	16,792
Kentucky - - - - -	750,012	64,340
Missouri - - - - -	515,434	24,420
Virginia - - - - -	817,847	75,868
North Carolina - - - -	550,463	73,226
South Carolina - - - -	266,055	15,550
Georgia - - - - -	515,120	40,794
Tennessee - - - - -	751,198	77,917

The evils which afflict the slave States are various and complicated; but they all originate with, or are aggravated by, that fatal institution which Washington, Jefferson, Patrick Henry, and all the great men of the South of the Revolutionary epoch deplored, but which the madness of modern times hugs as a blessing.

The wages of labor are always low in countries exclusively agricultural. Industry begins to be fairly rewarded, when it is united with skill, when employments are properly divided, and when the general average of education and intelligence is raised by the facilities afforded by density of population. The grain-growing regions of Eastern Europe are tilled by serfs; it is only in Western Europe that we find industry enjoying any tolerable measure of competence, intelligence, and respectability. Agricultural countries are comparatively poor, and manufacturing and commercial countries are comparatively rich; because rude labor, even upon rich soils, is less productive than skilled labor, aided by machinery and accumulated capital. That the South is almost exclusively agricultural, results especially in the more northerly slave States, (which have admirable natural facilities for mining and manufacturing,) from the institution of slavery, under which there cannot be in the organization of society that middle class, which, in free States, is the nursery of intelligent and enterprising industry.

The whites at the South not connected with the ownership or management of slaves, constituting not far from three-fourths of the whole number of whites, confined at best to the low wages of agricultural labor, and partially cut off even from this by the degradation of a com-

panionship with black slaves, retire to the outskirts of civilization, where they lead a semi-savage life, sinking deeper and more hopelessly into barbarism with each succeeding generation. The slave-owner takes at first all the best land, and finally all the land susceptible of regular cultivation; and the poor whites, thrown back upon the hills and upon the sterile soils—mere squatters, without energy enough to acquire title even to the cheap lands they occupy, without roads, without schools, and at length without even a desire for education—become the miserable beings described to us by the writers whom I have quoted. In Virginia and all the old slave States, immense tracts belonging to private owners, or abandoned for taxes, and in the Southwest, immense tracts belonging to the Government of the United States, are occupied in this way. Southern agriculture, rude and wasteful to the last degree, is not fitted to grapple with difficulties. It seizes upon rich soils, and flourishes only while it is exhausting them. It knows how to raise cotton and corn, but has no flexibility, no power of adaptation to circumstances, no inventiveness. The poor white, if he cannot find bottoms whereon to raise grain, becomes a hunter upon the hills which might enrich him with flocks and herds.

In the first settlement of the new and rich soils of the Southwest, these evils were less apparent; but the downward progress is rapid and certain. First the farmer without slaves, and then the small planter, succumbs to the conquering desolation. How feelingly it is depicted in the following extract from an address delivered a few weeks since by the Hon. C. C. Clay, jun., of Alabama:

"I can show you, with sorrow, in the older portions of Alabama, and in my native county of Madison, the sad memorials of the artless and exhausting culture of cotton. Our small planters, after taking the cream off their lands, unable to restore them by rest, manures, or otherwise, are going further west and south, in search of other virgin lands, which they may and will despoil and impoverish in like manner. Our wealthier planters, with greater means and no more skill, are buying out their poorer neighbors, extending their plantations, and adding to their slave force. The wealthy few, who are able to live on smaller profits, and give their blasted fields some rest, are thus pushing off the many who are merely independent. Of the \$20,000,000 annually realized from the sales of the cotton crop of Alabama, nearly all not expended in supporting the producers is reinvested in land and negroes. Thus the white population has decreased and the slave increased almost *pari passu* in several counties of our State. In 1825, Madison county cast about 3,000 votes; now, she cannot cast exceeding 2,500. In traversing that county, one will discover numerous farm-houses, once the abode of industrious and intelligent freemen, now occupied by slaves, or tenantless, deserted, and dilapidated; he will observe fields, once fertile, now unenclosed, abandoned, and covered with those evil harbinger, fox-tail and broomsedge; he will see the moss growing on the mouldering walls of once thrifty villages, and will find 'one only master grasps the whole domain,' that once furnished happy homes for a dozen white families. Indeed, a country in its infancy, where fifty years ago scarce a forest tree had been felled by the axe of the pioneer, is already exhibiting the painful signs of senility and decay, apparent in Virginia and the Carolinas."

It is undoubtedly true that the condition of the South would be vastly ameliorated if its pursuits were more diversified, if its great facilities for mining and manufacturing were im-

proved, and if its wasteful systems of agriculture were changed. The profits of capital would be raised, and the productiveness of labor would be enhanced. To a certain extent, perhaps, the free laborer might be benefited by the greater employment and higher wages which would result; but the same fatal, overshadowing evil which has driven him from the field, would drive him from the workshop and the factory. *Harret in latere lethalis arundo.* Even Mr. Gregg, from whom I have quoted above, says that "all overseers, who have experience in the matter, give the decided preference to blacks as operatives." Mr. Montgomery, in his treatise on the "Cotton Manufactures of the United States Compared with Great Britain," states that "there are several cotton factories in Tennessee, operated entirely by slave labor, there not being a white man in the mill but the superintendent." The employment of slaves is common everywhere at the South, in factories and mining. The author of "The Future of the South" (De Bow's Review, vol. 10, page 146) says that "the blacks are equally serviceable in factories as in fields."

A writer in the *Mississippian* says:

"Will not our slaves make tanners? And can they not, when supplied with materials, make peg and other shoes? Cannot our slaves make ploughs and harrows, &c.? The New England States cannot make and send us brick and frame houses, and therefore we have learned that our slaves can make and lay bricks, and perform the work of house-joiners and carpenters. In fact, we know that in mechanical pursuits, and manufacturing cotton and woollen goods, they are fine laborers."

The statesman, like Gov. Hammond, looking at the matter from a statesman's point of view, may recommend, as he does, the employment of poor whites in factories, as being upon the whole, although immediately less cheap, more for the general good of the community. Men are not governed in matters of business by any such consideration as this. If slave labor is adapted to factories, as it would seem to be, and is cheaper than white labor, as it would also seem to be, it will be employed, be the consequences to the community ever so disastrous. And where it is employed at all, it will be employed exclusively, as in the Tennessee factories, from the insuperable repugnance of whites to labor side by side and on an equality with black slaves.

The difficulty in the case is invincible. The property-holders of the South own a vigorous and serviceable body of black laborers, who can be fed for \$20 per annum, and clothed for \$10 per annum; who can be kept industrious and preserved from debilitating vices by coercion, by no means inapt in the simpler arts, naturally docile, and, under any tolerable treatment, "fat and sleek;" such is the terrible, the overwhelming, the irresistible competition, to which the non-property-holding three quarters of the whites at the South are subjected, when they come into the market with their labor.

It is not wonderful that they seek escape from the nightmare which broods over them, and

fly by thousands to the refuge of the free States. The census of 1850 found 609,371 persons living in the free States who were born in the slave States, while only 206,638 persons born in the free States were living in the slave States. The numbers of emigrants from free to slave States, and from slave to free States, living in 1850, have been carefully collected from Table CXX, found on the 116th page of the Compendium of the Census of 1850. That table gives the nativity of the "white and free colored population," without distinguishing the two classes; but the "free colored population" is too small, and its movement too slight, to affect the substantial accuracy of the calculation. On the 115th page of this Compendium is found the following statement:

"There are now, 726,450 persons living in slaveholding States who are natives of non-slaveholding States, and 232,112 persons living in non-slaveholding States who are natives of slaveholding States."

This is a manifest error, and I supposed at first that there was a transposition of the numbers, but, upon calculation, find the true numbers to be as given in the text. It is to be observed that the white population of the free States is double that of the slave States, so that the per centage of Southern whites moving North is six times greater than that of Northern whites moving South.

It is to be observed also, in reference to what little emigration there is from the free to the slave States, that it results from the fact that the domestic institutions of the latter do not encourage the development of mercantile enterprise, mechanical skill, and general business capacity, and that the deficiency in those respects is necessarily supplied from abroad. Of *weve labor*, there is absolutely no movement from the free to the slave States.

Of the persons who have emigrated from the border slave States, and who were living in other States in 1850, the following table will show the numbers living in free and slave States, respectively:

<i>Emigrated from</i>	<i>Living in free States.</i>	<i>Living in slave States.</i>
Delaware - - - -	25,182	6,739
Maryland - - - -	86,094	41,627
Virginia - - - -	182,424	201,961
Kentucky - - - -	148,680	107,844
Missouri - - - -	20,244	14,682
Total - - - -	462,534	375,853

If from 838,387, the entire number of emigrants from these States, we deduct one fourth part, assumed to be holders of slaves, and therefore compelled to select their residence in slave States, we have left 628,790 as the number of emigrants not holders of slaves, and therefore at liberty to select their residence in free or slave States, as they might think best. Of this number, 462,534, or a fraction short of seventy-four per cent., selected the free States.

Of the persons who have emigrated from the border free States, and who were living in other States in 1850, the following table will

show the numbers living in free and slave States, respectively:

<i>Emigrated from</i>	<i>Living in free States.</i>	<i>Living in slave States.</i>
New Jersey - - -	114,511	18,418
Pennsylvania - - -	266,317	55,560
Ohio - - - -	159,938	23,770
Indiana - - - -	66,141	24,780
Illinois - - - -	22,707	20,658
Iowa - - - -	3,357	1,758
Total - - - -	832,971	152,644

Of the emigration from the border States, it is to be observed that its direction, whether to free or to slave States, is less controlled by the consideration of climate than is the direction of the emigration from the extreme North or the extreme South.

The following table shows the number of persons living in 1850 in Illinois, Indiana, and Missouri, who emigrated from the slave States, excluding the border States, and excluding Arkansas, which is adjacent to Missouri:

<i>Emigrated from</i>	<i>Emigrated to Illinois and Indiana.</i>	<i>Emigrated to Missouri.</i>
North Carolina - - -	47,926	17,009
South Carolina - - -	8,251	2,919
Georgia - - - -	2,162	1,254
Tennessee - - - -	45,637	44,970
Alabama - - - -	1,730	2,067
Mississippi - - - -	777	658
Louisiana - - - -	701	746
Texas - - - -	107	248
Florida - - - -	44	67
Total - - - -	105,755	69,918

Here is an emigration involving considerable journeys, and not controlled by the consideration of immediate proximity. It is an emigration to States very similar in local position and physical characteristics. Such differences as do exist, however, in climate and productions, would incline the Southern emigrant to Missouri. Yet we find three-fifths of these emigrants placing themselves voluntarily under the operation of the ordinance of 1787. It is a fair inference, and it is true, that the real wishes as well as real interests of a majority of the whites of the South are in opposition to the extension of slavery; but it is only the minority of slaveholders, which is represented in Congress, or which has otherwise any political weight in the country.

It is unquestionable that the immigration from the South has brought into the free states more ignorance, poverty, and thriftlessness, than an equal amount of the immigration from Europe. Where it forms a marked feature of the population, as in Southern Illinois, a long time must elapse before it is brought up to the general standard of intelligence and enterprise in the free States. This remark is made in no spirit of unkindness. The whites of the South are nearly all of the Revolutionary stock. They are a fine, manly race. Their valor, attested upon a hundred battle-fields, shone untarnished and still resplendent in the last conflict of the Republic. No banner floated more defiantly, amid the smoke and fire of the Valley of Mexico, than that up-borne by the inextinguishable gallantry of the sons of South Carolina. I feel



for that unhappy people all the ties of kith and kin. God forbid that any avenue should be closed, by which they may escape out of the horrible pit of their bondage. If the Constitution permits the South to recapture their fugitive blacks, happily it does not permit them to recapture their fugitive whites.

It is said that no equal number of negroes were ever so well off, upon the whole, as the slaves of the South, and that, in contrast with their native barbarism, their present lot, hard as it is, is one of improvement and comparative advancement. Even if this be true, even if three millions and a half of people of African blood have been raised in the scale of civilization, the price paid for it is too costly. An equal number of people of the Caucasian stock have been deprived of all that constitutes civilization, and thrust down into barbarism; thus reversing the order of Providence, and sacrificing the superior to the inferior race.

It is said that an extension of the area of slavery would add to the personal comfort of the slaves, at least for a considerable period of time. Even if this be so, our first and highest duty is to our own race; and it will be a most flagrant and inexcusable folly to permit such a sacrifice of it as we now witness in the Southern States, to be enacted over again upon the vast areas of the West. Where the two races actually coexist, the relation which may best

subsist between them may afford fair matter for dispute; but it is against the clear and manifest dictates of common sense, voluntarily, willingly, and with our eyes open, to subject the white man to a companionship which, under any relation, is an encumbrance and a curse.

It is for the intelligent self-interest, the Christian philanthropy of the people of this great country, with all the lights of the past and present blazing with such effulgent brightness that none but the judicially blinded can fail to see, to determine whether the system of black slavery shall inflict upon regions now fair and virgin from the hands of the Creator, its train of woes, which no man can number, which no eloquence can exaggerate, and of which no invective can heighten the hideous reality. It is for the people of this great country to determine whether the further spread of a system, of which the worst fruits are not seen in wasted resources and in impoverished fields, but in a neglected and outcast people, shall be left to the accidents of latitude, of proximity, of border violence, or of the doubtful assent of embryo communities; or whether, on the other hand, it shall be stayed by an interdiction, as universal as the superiority of Good to Evil, as perpetual as the rightful authority of reason in the affairs of men, and as resistless as the embodied will of the nation.

# PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1860.

## REPUBLICAN EXECUTIVE CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE.

HON. PRESTON KING, N. Y., *Chairman.*  
" J. W. GRIMES, IOWA.  
" L. F. S. FOSTER, CONN.  
    *On the part of the Senate.*  
" E. B. WASHBURN, ILLINOIS.

HON. JOHN COVODE, PENN., *Treasurer.*  
" E. G. SPAULDING, N. Y.  
" J. B. ALLEY, MASS.  
" DAVID KILGORE, INDIANA.  
" J. L. N. STRATTON, N. J.  
    *On the part of the House of Reps.*

The Committee are prepared to furnish the following Speeches and Documents :

### EIGHT PAGES.

Hon. W. H. Seward: State of the Country.  
" W. H. Seward: "Irrepressible Conflict"  
    Speech.  
" G. A. Grow, Penn.: Free Homes for Free  
    Men.  
" James Harlan, Iowa: Shall the Territories  
    be Africanized?  
" John Hickman, Penn.: Who have Violated  
    Compromises.  
" B. F. Wade, Ohio: Invasion of Harper's  
    Ferry.  
" G. W. Scranton and J. H. Campbell, Penn.:  
    The Speakership.  
" F. P. Blair, Mo., Address at Cincinnati:  
    Colonization and Commerce.  
" Orris S. Ferry, Conn.  
" Abraham Lincoln, Ill.: The Demands of  
    the South—The Republican Party Vin-  
    dicated.  
" William Windom, Minn.: The Homestead  
    Bill—Its Friends and its Foes.  
" Owen Lovejoy, of Illinois: The Barbarism  
    of Slavery.  
" Henry L. Dawes, Mass.: The New Dogma  
    of the South—"Slavery a Blessing."  
" R. H. Duell, N. Y.: The Position of Parties.  
" M. S. Wilkinson, Minn.: The Homestead  
    Bill.  
" D. W. Gooch, Mass.: Polygamy in Utah.  
Carl Schurz, Wis.: Douglas and Popular Sover-  
    eignty.  
Lands for the Landless—A Tract.  
The Poor Whites of the South—The Injury done  
    them by Slavery—A Tract.

### SIXTEEN PAGES.

Hon. Lyman Trumbull, Ill.: Seizure of the Ar-  
    senals at Harper's Ferry, Va. and Liberty,  
    Mo., and in Vindication of the Republi-  
    can Party.  
" B. F. Wade, Ohio: Property in the Terri-  
    tories.  
" C. H. Van Wyck, N. Y.: True Democracy—  
    History Vindicated.

Hon. H. Wilson, Mass.: Territorial Slave Code.  
" John P. Hale, N. H.  
" J. J. Perry, Me.: "Posting the Books be-  
    tween the North and the South."  
" J. R. Doolittle, Wis.: The Calhoun Revo-  
    lution—Its Basis and its Progress.  
" C. B. Sedgwick, N. Y.: The Republican  
    Party the Result of Southern Aggression  
" M. J. Parrott, Kansas: Admission of Kansas.  
Federalism Unmasked: Or the Rights of the  
    States, the Congress, the Executive, and  
    the People, Vindicated against the En-  
    croachments of the Judiciary, prompted  
    by the Modern Apostate Democracy.  
Being a Compilation from the Writings  
    and Speeches of the Leaders of the Old  
    Jeffersonian Republican Party. By Daniel  
    R. Goodloe.

### TWENTY-FOUR PAGES.

Hon. Jacob Collamer, Vermont.

### THIRTY-TWO PAGES.

Hon. Thomas Corwin, of Ohio.

### GERMAN.

#### EIGHT PAGES.

Hon. G. A. Grow, Penn.: Free Homes for Free  
    Men.  
" James Harlan, Iowa: Shall the Territories  
    be Africanized?  
" John Hickman, Penn.: Who Have Violated  
    Compromises.  
" William Windom, Minn.: The Homestead  
    Bill—Its Friends and its Foes.  
" H. Winter Davis, Md.: Election of Speaker.  
Carl Schurz, Wis.: Douglas and Popular Sover-  
    eignty.

#### SIXTEEN PAGES.

Hon. Lyman Trumbull, Ill.: Seizure of the Ar-  
    senals at Harper's Ferry, Va., and Liberty,  
    Mo., and in Vindication of the Republi-  
    can Party.  
" W. H. Seward, N. Y.: The State of the  
    Country.  
Lands for the Landless—A Tract.

And all the leading Republican Speeches as delivered.

During the Presidential Campaign, Speeches and Documents will be supplied at the following reduced prices: per 100—8 pages 50 cents, 16 pages \$1, and larger documents in proportion. Address either of the above Committee.

GEORGE HARRINGTON, *Secretary.*



